

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 454 708

FL 026 764

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TITLE Language Skills and Literacy Development of English-Japanese Bilingual Children.
SPONS AGENCY San Francisco State Univ., CA.
PUB DATE 2001-04-00
NOTE 26p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Seattle, WA, April 10-14, 2001).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; *Cultural Maintenance; Elementary Education; Elementary School Students; *English (Second Language); Ethnic Groups; Heritage Education; Immigrants; Interviews; *Japanese; *Japanese Americans; *Language Maintenance; Language Minorities; Native Speakers; Parent Influence; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Uncommonly Taught Languages

ABSTRACT

This study explores two linguistically alternative options--English and Japanese--available to children from bilingual homes, some of which are immigrant families. To measure each child's bilingual verbal ability, the Bilingual Verbal Ability Tests (BVAT) were administered. Interviews with bilingual children's mothers were conducted. The results of the BVAT revealed that children's English vocabulary usage was highly correlated with their vocabulary usage in Japanese. Scores obtained in Japanese tasks, whether high or low, were mirrored in the scores of the corresponding English tasks. These results suggest that increasing language ability in either language used by bilingual children can accelerate their progress in the other language as well. Nonetheless, the study also revealed that children of Japanese parents performed better in English than in Japanese. Interviews with mothers and fathers revealed that children of Japanese heritage preferred speaking English over Japanese despite their mothers' concerted efforts to maintain Japanese. The implications of these findings hold significant meaning in terms of promoting bilingualism and biculturalism. Tables of data are appended. (Contains 26 references.) (KFT)

Running Head: LANGUAGE SKILLS AND LITERACY DEVELOPMENT

Language Skills and Literacy Development of English-Japanese Bilingual Children

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* An earlier version of this paper was presented by the author at the American Educational Research Association 2001 Annual Meeting in Seattle, Washington, April 11, 2001. This research was supported by the Faculty Affirmative Action Award mini-grant and the Research and Professional Development Support Fund from San Francisco State University. I also wish to express my special thanks to the mothers and children who participated in this research project and generously gave their time for the interviews. I am also grateful to my research assistants, Hirono Mogi Stonelake, Emi Fujiyama, and Sanae Fukuda, for their continued dedication to the project.

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Abstract

This study explores two linguistically alternative options--English and Japanese--available to children from bilingual homes, some of which are immigrant families. To measure each individual child's bilingual verbal ability, the Bilingual Verbal Ability Tests (BVAT) (Muñoz-Sandoval, Cummins, Alvarado, & Ruef, 1998) were administered. Also, interviews with bilingual children's mothers were conducted. The results of the BVAT revealed that children's English vocabulary usage was highly correlated with their vocabulary usage in Japanese. Scores obtained in the Japanese tasks, whether high or low, were mirrored in the scores of the corresponding English tasks. These results suggest that increasing language ability in either language used by bilingual children can accelerate their progress in the other language as well. Nonetheless, the study also revealed that the children of Japanese parents performed better in English than in Japanese. Interviews with mothers further revealed that children of Japanese heritage preferred speaking English over Japanese despite their mothers' concerted efforts to maintain Japanese. The implications of these findings hold significant meaning in terms of promoting bilingualism and biculturalism.

Language Skills and Literacy Development of English-Japanese Bilingual Children

Language is a crucial universal form of human symbolic behavior as well as a manifestation of the culture it represents. Communication skills are regarded as essential tools in our lives, and play an important role in the development, maintenance, and intergenerational transmission of culture. In the past, immigrant communities in many bilingual and multilingual societies have undergone a shift to the dominant language in the course of two to four generations (Blum-Kulka, 1997). In the United States, the language shift to English is now so advanced that people at times cannot maintain informal intergenerational interactions in their heritage languages even within the confines of the family (Fishman, 1991). Many children from immigrant families in the United States lose their native tongues entirely, even though they may have retained some sense of ethnic identity or cultural vitality. Some immigrant children who successfully maintain their native languages do so only in connection with diglossic situations in which the dominant language spoken in school (e.g., English) and less widely-used languages or non-standard dialects spoken at home coexist but do not overlap.

To understand the problems of heritage language maintenance, we need to keep in mind that contextualized language used mainly for conversational purposes is quite different from decontextualized language used for school learning (Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Snow, 1983). Furthermore, the former develops earlier than the latter (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982). In the context of bilingual education, children become conversantly capable in English before they develop the ability to use English in academic situations (Cummins, 1991a, 1991b). As can be inferred from the passage of Proposition 227 (the June 1998 initiative that essentially eliminated bilingual education in California's public schools), bilingual programs are commonly criticized for retaining students for too long a period after they begin to develop English skills. Cummins (1991b), however, suggests that although children may become orally proficient in English after approximately two years of study, several additional years may be needed to acquire the language skills necessary to function successfully in an all-English classroom. To represent these two separate skills, Cummins (1980) proposes the terms: Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills

(BICS) and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICS is the ability to communicate well in everyday interpersonal/social (i.e., contextualized or context-embedded) contexts. This ability can be acquired naturally without formal schooling. On the other hand, CALP is related to the higher-level language skills required for cognitively demanding content such as literacy (i.e., decontextualized or context-reduced contexts), and thus represents those aspects of language proficiency that emerge and become distinctive with formal schooling. Therefore, even if immigrant children reach productive dominance in English within two or three years, this might merely reflect their relatively rapid mastery of BICS, but not CALP. Furthermore, students mainstreamed prematurely on the basis of their BICS run the risk of being diagnosed as slow, disabled, or even retarded because they have not yet acquired CALP.

The widely-accepted theory behind bilingual education is that children do better if they continue to develop their first-language proficiency while becoming fluent in a second language (Genesee, 1994). According to Cummins (1991a, 1991b, 1996), first- and second-language proficiencies are interdependent, with a strong native language foundation supporting the learning of the second language with relative ease and rapidity (i.e., Common Underlying Proficiency, or CUP). Most of the learning that occurs in the native language transfers readily to a second language. Once the basic principles of reading are mastered in the first language, for example, reading skills transfer quickly to a second language (Snow, 1990; Snow, Cancino, De Temple, & Schley, 1991).

Consequently, equitable assessment is necessary to monitor bilingual children's progress not only in language development but also in the development of language skills such as literacy. It is true that standardized tests do not necessarily serve as an accurate or fair measure of language-minority students' diverse strengths (McCloskey & Enright, 1992). Yet, as Cummins (1986) emphasizes, the role of educators and policy makers should be to empower minority students. As Collier (1992) also argues, ignoring minority students' performance on standardized tests means only that those students are denied "access to a meaningful education and equal opportunity to benefit in life from their education" (p. 194). Therefore, the important issues in bilingualism in

general and bilingual education in particular include: (1) how proficiency should be defined and evaluated in the bilingual individual's two languages, and (2) what we can learn about bilingual children's native- and second-language proficiency.

Methods

Participants

The subjects for this study were forty Japanese-speaking school-age children (seventeen boys and twenty-three girls, ages six to twelve), and their mothers, residing in the multilingual San Francisco area. All of the subjects were either enrolled in bilingual programs in public elementary schools or attending Japanese language classes on weekends as well as public elementary schools. They were selected through the snowball technique; i.e., the mothers of the candidate subjects and school teachers whom we contacted helped us to find others. Appointments to meet the subjects were made by phone, and a member of our research team visited each subject's home, became acquainted with the subject and his or her mother, and explained the research plan. As specified in a required consent form (devised by the principal investigator), the mothers gave us permission to record all interviews on tape, provided that the data would be used only for professional purposes and that privacy would be protected. Accordingly, all the names in this study are pseudonyms.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, as in many other metropolitan areas in the United States, many Japanese parents have enrolled their children in weekend tutorials. Many Japanese residing in the Bay Area for a limited time expect to be transferred back to Japan after their period of duty is completed. However, as of the time of data collection, no families in the present sample planned to return to Japan.

Materials

The Bilingual Verbal Ability Tests (BVAT) are administered to: (1) measure an individual child's English language proficiency, (2) measure a child's bilingual verbal ability (i.e., verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined), and (3) predict a child's academic progress. The BVAT, which reflects ideas developed by Cummins (1980, 1991a, 1991b)--particularly the

notion of CALP, was developed by researchers, educators, and classroom teachers (Muñoz-Sandoval, Cummins, Alvarado, & Ruef, 1998). The major objective of the BVAT is, therefore, to measure the unique combination of cognitive and academic language abilities possessed by bilingual individuals in English and another language (i.e., Japanese in this case).

Like other intelligence tests, the BVAT measures two distinct components of general intelligence: (1) fluid intelligence or reasoning, which is related to the basic organization of behavioral function, especially in the performance of complex tasks, and (2) crystallized intelligence, which applies to the skills and knowledge explicitly valued in society, especially those taught in school. (Note that crystallized intelligence is closely related to CALP.) The usual problems that people have to solve require a combination of the two types of intelligence.

Specifically, the BVAT contains three sections to measure different aspects of verbal cognitive ability: (1) picture vocabulary, (2) oral vocabulary, and (3) verbal analogies. The picture vocabulary task is at a single-word level that requires the subject to name a pictured object. This expressive task is arranged by presenting familiar objects (e.g., star, shoe, spoon) and then gradually moving to less familiar objects (e.g., stethoscope, pendulum, turnstile). Testing continues until the subject makes errors in eight consecutive responses. This task primarily measures crystallized intelligence.

The oral vocabulary task examines knowledge of word meanings. The task is further divided into two subsections: synonyms (in which the subject is expected to answer with a word similar in meaning to the word presented) and antonyms (in which the subject is expected to answer with a word opposite in meaning to the word presented). Examples of synonyms include: angry-mad, small-little, and look-see. Examples of antonyms are: no-yes, out-in, and happy-sad. Like the picture vocabulary task, the oral vocabulary task becomes increasingly difficult. This test, which continues until the child makes errors in six consecutive responses, primarily measures crystallized intelligence.

The verbal analogies task measures verbal reasoning. The subject is expected to comprehend and complete a logical word relationship, such as "A bird flies; a fish . . ." and

"Hungry is to eat, as tired is to" Like the other two tasks described above, the verbal analogies task becomes increasingly complex. Unlike the other two tasks, however, this task is expected to measure not only crystallized intelligence but also fluid intelligence (i.e., reasoning). Testing continues until the subject makes errors in eight consecutive responses.

The BVAT was originally developed to measure an individual's knowledge in English (L₂) and the first language (i.e., Japanese in this research), with the aim of obtaining a best estimate of that individual's verbal ability. The developers of the BVAT (Muñoz-Sandoval, Cummins, Alvarado, & Ruef, 1998) claim that vocabulary size should be regarded as the total of (1) the amount of English vocabulary plus (2) the amount of first language vocabulary that is not part of the individual's vocabulary in English. As a general procedure, the English BVAT is administered first, followed by missed items in the first language in order to determine whether the subject possesses a vocabulary item that he or she has missed in English. In other words, any item that has been missed in English is then administered in the first language (e.g., Japanese). If the individual identifies that item in the first language, it is added to the score for that subtest (e.g., synonyms). The end result thus reflects the individual's knowledge in both languages.

Data Collection and Procedure

The purposes of using the BVAT include: obtaining an assessment of the children's (1) relative verbal abilities in English and Japanese, (2) relative proficiency in the two languages, and (3) predicting the children's academic progress. Although the standard use of the BVAT, which was described previously, might present a more complete picture of verbal ability than the conventional procedure (which solely relies on English verbal ability), in this research the BVAT was also used in a slightly different manner than had originally been intended. Specifically, unlike the standard procedure, we asked the subjects to answer all the items both in English and in Japanese, so that we could also identify, within the subject's English vocabulary, what kinds of items are missing in the subject's first language, Japanese.

The BVAT reports five levels of CALP to help describe the subject's language proficiency in English: Level 5 (advanced CALP in English), 4 (fluent), 3 (limited), 2 (very limited), and 1

(negligible). For instance, when compared with other children of the same grade, a Level 4 individual demonstrates fluent cognitive academic language proficiency. That is, if provided with English instruction at the subject's corresponding grade level, it is expected that a Level 4 child will find the language demands of the learning tasks manageable.

In addition, the children's mothers were asked a series of open-ended questions about language use and literacy practices (i.e., the use of English and Japanese), such as (1) whether the parents planned for their children to grow up bilingual, (2) whether they have been using both English and Japanese with their children at home, (3) what difficulties they have encountered in maintaining the secondary language (either English or Japanese), and (4) how they estimate the children's proficiency in the secondary language (either English or Japanese).

Results

Quantitative Analysis

The relationships between the two languages in terms of the three language proficiency sections (Picture Vocabulary, Oral Vocabulary, and Verbal Analogies) were quantitatively analyzed. Summary data for all three measures are presented in Table 2. Table 1 displays correlations between these measurements. As can be seen in this table, the children's English vocabulary usage was highly correlated with their vocabulary usage in Japanese. For example, those children who demonstrated superior performance in the English verbal analogies task also demonstrated superior performance in the Japanese verbal analogies task, $r(38) = .80, p < .0001$. Thus, significant positive correlations between English and Japanese were found in the children's vocabulary. Scores obtained in the Japanese tasks, whether high or low, were mirrored in the scores of the corresponding English tasks. Note, however, that this could occur for many reasons, and it is possible that there is no direct causal relationship in the use of the two languages. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that, in the case of bilingual children, a high level of ability in one language can accelerate progress in the other language as well.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Comparisons of mean scores by t tests, however, showed that the bilingual children performed better in English than in Japanese in Picture Vocabulary, $t(39) = 10.56$, $p < .0001$, Oral Vocabulary, $t(39) = 8.63$, $p < .0001$, and Verbal Analogies, $t(39) = 7.58$, $p < .0001$. Regarding language proficiency, therefore, there were differences between the two languages in all three sections examined. In terms of vocabulary size, therefore, their English vocabulary size is statistically significantly larger than their Japanese vocabulary size.

Insert Table 2 about here.

Qualitative Analysis

Contrasting cases. In this section, three bilingual children, Natsuko, Taichi, and Takashi, are described. All three arrived in the United States at age four or five and have resided in the country for four or five years. Two children, Natsuko and Taichi, seem to be balanced in English and Japanese, whereas one child, Takashi, does not appear so. As can be seen below, one of the key factors for becoming a balanced bilingual seems to be related to the amount of time spent in reading in both languages at home. Note that the "balanced" bilingual is a term generally used to describe individuals who can listen, speak, read, and write in both languages with equal proficiency (Williams & Snipper, 1990).

Natsuko (Female; Grade 5.7; Age 10 years, 9 months). Natsuko's first language is Japanese. Her parents are both native speakers of Japanese. At home, Natsuko speaks only Japanese. Natsuko's mother says that she does nothing special to make her children bilingual. When Natsuko talks with her younger sister Asami, they speak English (especially when quarreling). When Asami does not understand what her parents have said, Natsuko serves as a translator/interpreter. [Note that the subjects were not administered the BVAT to assess their verbal

cognitive ability at the beginning of a school year. In order to show clearly the grade of the subjects on the date the tests were administered, the grade level was divided into tenths. Because Natsuko was tested on April 1, seven tenths of the way through the school year, her grade was recorded as 5.7.]

Effective strategies are required to improve language skills. One of the key strategies involves reading books and watching TV programs in English. This relates to the "cultural literacy" that makes culturally shared experiences comprehensible (Williams & Snipper, 1990). According to Natsuko's mother, Natsuko has advanced in English because she and her younger sister read many books.

Natsuko and Asami's mother feels that their vocabularies are smaller than those of English-speaking children of corresponding ages. On the contrary, Natsuko tested at advanced English proficiency (CALP Level 5). Considering the fact that Natsuko has been in the United States for 5 years and 8 months (which means that, arriving in the United States at age five, she has been exposed to English at school for 5 years and 8 months), this is very impressive. Collier (1987) claims that five-, six-, and seven-year-old arrivals in the United States, because of limited literacy skills in their first language, tend not to acquire English academic skills as efficiently as older arrivals who can transfer their knowledge of reading from their native language to reading in English. Collier's (1987) hypothesis, however, does not seem to hold true in the case of Natsuko. That is, when compared to native English speakers at her age level, Natsuko's English language proficiency is superior. The BVAT further predicts that Natsuko will have no difficulty with the English language demands of age-level tasks.

Natsuko's verbal cognitive ability in English is in the very superior range of ability for her age. The BVAT results show that Natsuko performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks with 99 percent success. The BVAT also shows that Natsuko's verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined does not seem to be significantly higher than her English language proficiency alone.

Taichi (Male; Grade 2.7; Age 8 years, 0 month). Taichi's first language is Japanese. At home, his parents try to encourage him to speak Japanese; they have established a rule that, whereas English is allowed outside their home, Japanese remains the main language at home. Thanks to his parents' consistent encouragement and determination, Taichi has also read a great number of books in Japanese.

Taichi still mixes English and Japanese, particularly when he talks with his younger sister. This fusion of meaning is thought to result from acquiring two languages in a home where both languages are spoken interchangeably by the same individuals and in the same situations (McLaughlin, 1984). Also, this type of compounding, which seems inevitable because he lives in an English-speaking society, has both positive and potentially negative aspects. As a positive aspect, Taichi's mother thinks that his command of English is probably even more advanced than that of native English-speaking children of his age. A potentially negative aspect, on the other hand, is that English has been Taichi's dominant language for the last year, and this English dominance may cause communication breakdowns between him and his parents at home.

Having cultural knowledge is an important factor for improving literacy skills, because a critical component of cultural literacy is the learning of cultural ties and traditions in a given society (Williams & Snipper, 1990). Taichi's parents, who are both native speakers of Japanese, consider that maintaining his Japanese skills is more important than promoting his English proficiency. Their emphasis on Japanese over English, however, does not mean that they consider Taichi's English literacy skills development unimportant. On the contrary, they are also concerned about his English capability, and they are aware of the importance of cultural knowledge, such as U.S. history, old TV shows, and songs in the development of his English language skills.

Taichi's English language proficiency is superior when compared to native English speakers at his age level. Taichi demonstrated advanced English proficiency (CALP Level 5), despite the fact that his parents are limited in their English proficiency. Taichi's English language proficiency is comparable to that of the average English-speaking individual at age 11;0, far above his age level. This confirms that Taichi's mother's evaluation is correct. The BVAT predicts that Taichi will

continue to find the English language demands of age-level tasks very easy. His command of English skills is impressive although he has been in the United States for only four years and one month (since age four). As in Natsuko's case, Taichi's advanced English skills seem to contradict Collier's (1987) hypothesis regarding optimal conditions for success in school settings. Also, the cases of both Natsuko and Taichi seem to contradict Cummins's (1991a, 1991b) hypothesis on children's slow second-language acquisition as measured by CALP.

Taichi's combined (bilingual) verbal cognitive ability is not significantly higher than would result from verbal ability tests administered in English alone. In English, Taichi performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks with 98 percent success. When using his verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined, he can perform such tasks with 99 percent success, a mere one percent increment. Because Taichi, like Natsuko, has tested so close to a perfect score with his English proficiency alone, there is little possibility of his Japanese skills, excellent though they are, having a marked effect on his score. Of course, using this test procedure, the higher the score in English alone, the less the score can be incremented by the use of the first language.

Takashi (Male; Grade 5.7; Age 11 years, 1 month). Takashi's mother is concerned about Takashi's English skills development because: (1) Japanese is the main language at their home, and (2) she and her husband are both native speakers of Japanese. Similar concerns were reported by other mothers in this study whose husbands are Japanese, probably because in these cases there is no division of labor possible in terms of maintenance and development of the two languages (cf. Ryu's case below). Their principal concern is that the limitations of his English skills will affect his academic achievement at school. As the child advances in grade, homework assignments (in English) will become progressively more difficult. Takashi's parents, using dictionaries, help him write sentences in English. Yet they are not certain that the sentences they have helped Takashi to write are correct. Takashi tested at a CALP Level 3-4 (limited to fluent), which seems to support Takashi's mother's concern. Although Takashi came to the United States at age five and has been in an English-speaking community for more than five years, he still has limited English proficiency. In contrast to Natsuko and Taichi's BVAT scores, Takashi's seems to support Cummins's (1991a,

1991b) claim that it may take five to seven years to acquire effective CALP skills. Unlike Natsuko and Taichi, Takashi's case also seems to support Collier's (1987) claim regarding ages of arrival.

The above situation does not necessarily indicate that Takashi's Japanese is advanced. Even though he can communicate in basic Japanese (corresponding to BICS), he has not yet developed literacy skills (corresponding to CALP). Takashi's mother feels that his Japanese has not achieved age level. Takashi particularly lacks cultural literacy in Japanese. Takashi does not know the word for denoting a Japanese-style closet because they are not found in the United States. It was difficult for his mother to explain to Takashi exactly what a Japanese-style closet is. Takashi finally understood the word when his mother used something familiar to him in her explanation. It was the place where Doraemon sleeps. Doraemon is a popular cat-shaped robot that appears in a TV cartoon show that Takashi watches.

Takashi's mother has worked hard to develop his first language, Japanese. She has sent him to weekend tutorial programs, first to a Japanese "Saturday school" and then to other after-school tutorials in San Francisco. At home, she tries to speak with him only in Japanese. However, whenever he wants to express difficult things or concepts, he resorts to speaking English. His mother succumbs, and their conversation consequently shifts to English. Similar language shifts were reported by many mothers in this study.

As mentioned previously, the BVAT has revealed that, when compared to native English speakers at his age level, Takashi's English language proficiency is average (CALP Level 3-4). This assessment predicts that Takashi will find the English language demands of age-level tasks difficult. Takashi's verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined is in the average range for his age. In English, Takashi performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks with 79 percent success. When using his verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined, he performs such tasks with 84 percent success. This five percent increment is much larger than those of other children in the sample.

Parental concerns. Many parents in this study reported having concerns about their bilingual children's development in the two languages. The results of the BVAT, however, seem to

suggest that their concerns are needless. Described below are the cases of three children who, born and raised in the United States, are all successful in both English and Japanese. In terms of English proficiency, one child is considered fluent to advanced; two are categorized as fluent. Also, all of them perform language-related tasks with great success when using their verbal cognitive ability in English and Japanese combined. These cases are evidence that maintaining the individual's first language does not delay the development of a second language, nor does becoming fluent in a second language lead to losing the first language.

Asuka (Female; Grade 5.7; Age 11 years, 1 month). Asuka's mother feels that a variety of factors affect the development of Asuka's English skills: (1) Asuka's family speaks Japanese exclusively at home; (2) Asuka's parents are not fluent English speakers; and (3) Asuka does not have many opportunities to interact with English-speaking adults who would expose her to fluent English usage. Asuka's mother's concerns are legitimate, considering that language development and literacy development form a continuum from BICS to CALP (Cummins, 1991a, 1991b, 1996). Asuka's mother is particularly concerned about Asuka's vocabulary development.

But Asuka has demonstrated "fluent to advanced" English proficiency (CALP Level 4-5). Asuka's English language proficiency is comparable to that of the average English-speaking individual at age 12;10 (i.e., 12 years and 10 months), which indicates that tasks requiring English language ability at her current grade level should be quite easy for Asuka.

In English, Asuka performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks with 96 percent success. When using her bilingual cognitive ability, she can perform such tasks with 98 percent success, a two percent increment. Again, this result seems reasonable because Asuka has achieved a very high level in her English proficiency alone.

Masaaki (Male; Grade 3.7; Age 9 years, 1 month). Masaaki's first language is Japanese. At home, he mainly speaks Japanese. As a matter of fact, a friend had suggested to Masaaki's parents that they not speak "strange (foreign)" English at home. Masaaki's parents followed this advice until Masaaki entered preschool. Masaaki is now a third grader, but his mother feels that both his English and Japanese are far from perfect.

Masaaki's mother seems more concerned about his English. Compared to English-speaking children of his age, Masaaki has a small vocabulary. His parents cannot help him because they are both native speakers of Japanese with limited English proficiency. Masaaki's mother reports that his classroom teacher told her that Masaaki could not write complex sentences (e.g., sentences using conjunctions) but that Masaaki seems to understand what is being said in class. However, because he does not ask questions in class regardless of whether he understands what is being said to him, it is somewhat difficult to judge his English oral comprehension level. Masaaki's mother is enrolling him in an after-school program so that he will get more practice in English.

However, Masaaki's mother's worries about his English proficiency may be exaggerated. When compared to native English speakers of his age, Masaaki's English language proficiency is average; specifically, his language proficiency is comparable to that of the average English-speaking individual at age 8;7. Masaaki demonstrated fluent English proficiency (CALP Level 4), which indicates that Masaaki should find the English language demands of age-level tasks manageable.

In English, Masaaki performs age-level CALP tasks with 87 percent success. His bilingual verbal cognitive ability shows a 92 percent success rate, a five percent increment. This size of the increment, like Takashi's, who was described above, is large compared to other children in the sample.

Kenta (Male; Grade 3.7; Age 9 years, 7 months). Kenta's parents, who are both native speakers of Japanese, have established a rule to speak only Japanese at home. They have also enrolled Kenta in a weekend Japanese tutorial program, believing that talking with his Japanese-speaking peers is important partly because it motivates him to maintain Japanese.

In second-language learning in particular, learning may be affected differently by different types of motivation. Gardner and Lambert (1972) distinguish two types of motivation: instrumental motivation (i.e., wanting to learn a language because it will be useful for certain instrumental goals), and integrative motivation (i.e., wanting to learn a language in order to communicate with people of another culture who speak it). In Kenta's case, having him attend the tutorial program provides integrative motivation.

Because Kenta's first language is Japanese, and because he speaks Japanese exclusively at home, his parents are concerned about his English skills development. According to Kenta's mother, although he seems to keep up with the mainstream class (in English), he has difficulty understanding English sentences. Kenta's mother reports that because he enjoyed watching Japanese videos, he did not watch English TV programs until age six (although he is now interested in them). Also, Kenta is currently being tutored in English.

Kenta's mother may not need to worry, however. Kenta demonstrated "fluent" English proficiency (CALP Level 4). Kenta's English language proficiency is comparable to that of the average English-speaking individual at age 8;10. The BVAT results show that Kenta will find the English language demands of age-level tasks manageable. In English, Kenta performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks in the CALP with 85 percent success. When using his bilingual verbal cognitive ability, he performs such tasks with 93 percent success, an eight percent increment, which is much larger than that of other children in the sample.

Parents' First Language(s). Bilingual children's parents may not both be native speakers of Japanese, although the main focus was placed on Japanese-speaking parents in the previous two subsections. In the present sample, some fathers are native English speakers. In many of these families, fathers talk to their children in English, whereas mothers talk to them in Japanese. In this case, there is an explicit division of labor, as can be seen in a longitudinal study conducted by Leopold (1939-1949) in which he spoke German and his wife spoke English to their daughter. This situation might be an ideal one. Because each parent speaks only one language, there are no confusing double labels in early language development.

Ryu (Male; Grade 3.7; Age 9 years, 2 months). Ryu's father, who is a native speaker of English, speaks English to him, whereas his mother, a native speaker of Japanese, speaks Japanese to him. Ryu started attending a weekend Japanese tutorial program at age four. Then, during a stay in Japan, he was enrolled in a preschool (in a five-year-old children's classroom) for two months, and in an elementary school for one semester. Since then he has attended an elementary school in

Japan for two months every summer (this is possible because the academic year in Japan starts in April, and the summer vacation does not begin until mid-July).

Ryu's mother believes that these experiences are important because, when living in the United States, there are even fewer opportunities for using Japanese. Although making friends with those who can converse in Japanese is highly recommended (to enhance an individual's integrative motivation, as previously described), living in the U.S. English-speaking society limits such opportunities. Although Ryu's mother believes that he has the ability to keep up in a classroom conducted in Japanese, she is concerned that Ryu has a smaller Japanese vocabulary size than his peers in Japan and that Ryu is more likely to rely on English than Japanese when speaking with her. Under these circumstances, visiting Japan and attending school there every summer assumes significant importance.

Ryu demonstrated "advanced" English proficiency (CALP Level 5), which indicates that when compared to native English speakers at his age level, Ryu's English language proficiency is superior. The BVAT results predict that Ryu will have no difficulty with the English language demands of age-level tasks. More specifically, Ryu's English language proficiency is comparable to that of the average English-speaking individual at age 11;10, so tasks requiring English language ability below the age 11;10 level will be quite easy for Ryu, who is 9 years and 2 months old.

Ryu's bilingual verbal cognitive ability is also in the superior range of ability for his age. In English, Ryu performs age-level cognitive-academic language tasks with 98 percent success. His score remains 98 percent even with his combined Japanese and English verbal cognitive ability. Of course, 98 percent is close to a perfect score.

Discussion

The present study has explored language development in English and Japanese in children from bilingual and immigrant homes. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were performed in order to study the relationship between the levels of English and Japanese in bilingual children. The results of the BVAT revealed that those children who possess competent literacy skills in

Japanese possess equivalent advanced literacy skills in English. It has been demonstrated that raising the level of bilingual children's first language ability will produce accelerated progress in their literacy skills in both languages. As was shown in Table 2, the study has also revealed that the subject children performed better in English than in Japanese in all three BVAT sections. As a matter of fact, many of these children demonstrated fluent to advanced English proficiency and so will be able to meet the English language demands of age-level tasks. The results of the BVAT, in other words, suggest that these children's bilingual verbal cognitive abilities in English and Japanese combined are not significantly higher than is shown by their English verbal abilities alone, and also indicate that some children are at a very high level in their English proficiency alone. Interviews with mothers have further revealed that, despite their mothers' desperate efforts to maintain Japanese, speaking English is the children's preference between the two linguistic alternatives. The study supports previous research findings (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1997) that parents and children are likely to differ in their preferences for one language or another.

More specifically, the qualitative study has revealed that although Japanese remains the dominant language for Japanese parents living in the United States who are originally from Japan, English is the dominant language for many of their children. When interacting with their Japanese parents, bilingual children try to speak Japanese, but, in school settings or even when interacting with their siblings, bilingual children prefer speaking English. The choice of language seems to show: (1) the individual's societal orientation, integrative motivation in particular (i.e., which group the individual wants to belong to) and (2) the individual's perception of which language is appropriate in a particular context (e.g., speaking English with his or her peers and siblings but speaking Japanese with his or her parents).

Yet, we cannot help wondering why bilingual children tend to conduct conversations in two languages rather than one at home. In many bilingual or multilingual societies, choice of language is associated with two contrasting domains: the indigenous mother-tongue with more intimate settings such as family on the one hand, and the official language with more formal settings such as

school or work on the other. Why, then, even in home settings, should parents and children be likely to differ in their preferences for one language or the other.

To begin with, the parents' language is related to socialization. Their language is not only used for the purpose of maintaining it as the primary language in Japanese homes, but it is simultaneously used for maintenance of the family culture. Bilingual children in this study generally cooperate with their parents' attempts to maintain Japanese, which means that the children are accommodating their parents' aims. In contrast to this accommodation, English is used for acculturation into U.S. society. In other words, because English is the primary language in U.S. society, acculturation is essential for children's interaction with peers and even with siblings (Ochs, 1986; Cazden, 1988, for classroom interactions). Interactions even between siblings enable an individual to demonstrate his or her identity. Such interactions serve as a preparation for life in society. Speaking English among siblings at home makes sense in terms of participation in U.S. society. Thus, socialization into and sociability in U.S. society complicates language choice in bilingual homes.

Families living in pluralistic societies try to resolve the tensions between socialization, which implies the preservation of the cultural heritage on the one hand, and sociability, which involves acculturation into the dominant culture on the other (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Unfortunately, the tensions are often not resolved. Additional tensions arise because children of immigrant families tend to be critical of their parents' English, which may be strongly accented or be ungrammatical. This can lead to serious intergenerational emotional or psychological conflicts. In many cases, therefore, the swift language shift also takes place due to (1) the existence of diglossia, a situation where two different varieties of a language--a high variety and a low variety--co-occur, and (2) instrumental motivation, a desire to maintain a language because it is useful for certain instrumental goals such as obtaining a prestigious job (as opposed to integrative motivation, a desire to maintain a language in order to communicate with those who share the same cultural background, as described earlier).

Lambert (1981) classified bilingualism into two types: (1) additive bilingualism, in which the children's first language is maintained and supported, and (2) subtractive bilingualism, in which the (immigrant) children's first language is replaced with the dominant language. The findings of the present study indicate that these families of Japanese heritage have successfully achieved additive, balanced bilingualism. English is certainly the dominant language for the subject Japanese children, who are living in the U.S. society. The Japanese families observed in this study seem to have succeeded in "bilingual socialization." (Note that while "socialization" involves a variety of factors, the discussion here is limited to "bilingual socialization.")

Although the case studies of Japanese families suggest the positive effects of being bilingual, we should not forget the factors in this success both of the relatively high prestige of the Japanese language and the instrumental benefits associated with high proficiency in that language (i.e., instrumental motivation as mentioned above), particularly on the West Coast (where knowledge of Japanese is useful for future careers). According to a report on demographic changes summarized by the San Francisco Examiner (McCormick, 2000), for instance, a survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau projects that San Francisco will soon join Honolulu as a major U.S. city in which Asians outnumber whites. With increased immigration, the number of second- and third-generation Asian-Americans who want to maintain the language of their forebears is also increasing. Absent these factors, maintenance of Japanese might not be successful. Also, we must admit that, despite the success of the additive bilingualism in which children's first language (Japanese in this case) is maintained and supported, the families of Japanese heritage cannot avoid the influence of the dominant culture in which they live. In this way, immigrant families often evolve a hybrid structure in which certain values and practices consonant with the dominant culture coexist with the values associated with their native culture (Blum-Kulka, 1997).

To conclude, the implications of the findings of the present study hold significant meaning in terms of promoting bilingualism as well as biculturalism. We should not be optimistic about the maintenance of heritage language and culture. Instead, the problem of heritage language maintenance remains severe for members of language minorities. Native languages spoken in many

language-minority communities in the United States are threatened, and their intergenerational continuity is consequently at risk. While families often successfully maintain Japanese, in view of the increasing English dominance on the part of their children, Japanese might be no exception. Although many bilingual education programs in the United States place strong emphasis on rapid transition to monolingual English, as the results of this study imply, developing children's first-language skills seems important in the development of their second-language skills. Therefore, it is beneficial to the development of their overall language skills that bilingual children be placed in additive sociolinguistic settings.

Finally, additional research is required in order to deepen our understanding of the relationship between bilingual children's first-language ability and their second-language literacy skills. Little is known about how other factors contribute to this relationship. In this sense, analyzing bilingual children's vocabulary attainment is only one factor to be used in the exploration of the educational implications. Future research needs to include other factors, such as bilingual children's narrative discourse skills and explanatory sequences of talk. This study is only a beginning. As McLaughlin (1992) has argued, however, it is my hope that this study can help provide the basis to destroy grossly simplified myths that often surround bilingualism, such as "Bilingualism causes retardation" and "Second-language learning in childhood is arduous, handicapping, and fraught with problems."

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Table 1 Correlations between English and Japanese in Three Verbal Ability Related Tasks

	English Picture Vocabulary	English Oral Vocabulary	English Verbal Analogies
Japanese Picture Vocabulary	.35*	.27	-.10
Japanese Oral Vocabulary	-.23	.33*	.33*
Japanese Verbal Analogies	-.04	.56***	.80****
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 ****p < .0001			

Table 2 BVAT Scores per Language on Three Verbal Ability Related Tasks

	English (<u>n</u> = 40)		Japanese (<u>n</u> = 40)		<u>t</u> values
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Picture Vocabulary	14.93	3.29	8.93	3.02	10.56****
Oral Vocabulary	16.23	3.46	11.08	3.03	8.63****
Verbal Analogies	17.33	5.46	13.35	4.91	7.58****

****p < .0001